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pick their mates from the Eagle moiety and *vice versa*. Transgressing this rule, either in or out of marriage, is the worse crime of Lesu society. Between the moieties there is a set of reciprocal duties, including an exchange of food at pregnancy, birth, circumcision, first menstruation, marriage, and death rites. As the members of a moiety are scattered through households, hamlets, and villages, they generally function as a unit only at these rites. The clan, on the other hand, functions frequently as an economic unit, the members assisting each other in all their important undertakings. Since it is the important old men of the clan who are the real governing force, the clan largely conditions the political structure. These men are called *orang*, which may be translated as old men of influence, rather than chief. It is they who are an informal council, meeting in the men's house and discussing and deciding any questions of importance. Young and middle-aged men listen to them with respectful attention. The position of *orang* in the clan is not inherited. At the death of one, it may fall on his brother, but there is no rule for the choice. The oldest and most influential man of the clan, regardless of his exact relationship to the dead man, will be regarded as an *orang*. His influence is based on his age, strength of his personality, and his wealth. Oratorical ability and magical knowledge also increase his prestige. The *orang* is not formally chosen by an election. In these small and primitive communities everyone knows who is the most influential man, and he maintains his position by mutual consent.

In the past, each village had a warrior chief, also called *orang*, who was distinct from the clan *orang*. He had to know war magic and was always a rich man. The position was inherited, but not in a very exact line. His brother, his brother's son, his sister's son, and his own son have all at various times inherited a dead warrior chief's position. The ability of the man and the personal preference of the old

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578 dancing in which both villages and other neighbouring ones participated. A year later Tagam gave a return feast to Lesu. Seiut's younger brother, Sagari, became the new chief for Tagam.

624 648 554 888 To-day, in each village the white Government appoints a man called "Luluai," who acts as an intermediary between the natives and Government officials. In some villages the "Luluai" is a man of outstanding personality, from the family of the former fighting chief, or an *orang* of his clan and a man of real influence in the village. In other villages the choice of a "Luluai" may not be so fortunate. But even when he is a man of influence and strong personality, it is still the important old men of the clan who are the real rulers of the community. The "Luluai," if he is only a middle-aged man, is guided by them on any matter of importance.

THE FAMILY

593 The smallest unit based on kinship is the family, which cuts directly across the moiety and clan, since the father, as has been previously stated, is always of a different clan and moiety from those of his wife and children. On some occasions, when the clan functions as a unit, this division is brought out very clearly, as at the wedding rites of a daughter, when the mother and her clan relatives are active and the father is in the background. But, as a whole, the 593 ties of sentiment which develop in family life are not severed. 428 For instance, although the rule for the inheritance of pro- 611 perty as well as status is that it comes through the female line, the former frequently comes down through the male line. Inheritance of property and of status are in quite different categories. The rule concerning status is inviolable. A child is always a member of his mother's clan and moiety. But a child may receive magical spells from his father as well as from his mother's brother or mother. Although a native informant will always tell you that the latter is the

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182 511 Wealth is not hoarded, but instead is always being put in circulation at the constant ritual feasts. And there is no reason why wealth should be saved over any long interval. Old age does not mean economic insecurity. For every old [737. 888] person is well taken care of by either his own children or by classificatory ones. The old people, men and women, are the most respected members of the community, and it is unthinkable that any one of them should be in want.

182 461 558 In this society of rich, but no poor, where only industry is required to secure the essentials of life, one may ask, What becomes of the lazy man? For as men vary in skill and intelligence, so also do they vary in industry. In Lesu, if a man is too lazy to work, he will not starve. His relatives will give him food, and should they grow disgusted with him, other members of the community will feed him. No member of the village would go hungry, unless there was some general famine affecting everyone. But while the lazy man will have a place to sleep, and food to eat, and can even enjoy life in his own way, he will be a man of no importance in the community. He will have no influence in discussions; it will be difficult for him to secure a wife (and the same applies to a lazy woman securing a husband); he will not be able to give big feasts; and he will have no prestige. In a society largely motivated by prestige, this is a serious handicap. Although the burden of the lazy man's support will be carried by his family (immediate and extended) and by the community, if the family gets disgusted, he will remain a man of no account, and will have no influence in the communal life. Some of the abusive and insulting language to those who have no wealth brings out the opinion in which they are held:

Umär atsuga ärup numka tsera: you are no good; you have no currency.
Umär atsuga ärup numka bul; you are no good; you have no pig.

These are the insulting taunts hurled in moments of anger,

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159 usual early childhood. While she was still very young, Limboisa, who was married to her sister Leipa, wanted to be betrothed to her, but he was not accepted.[1] Her parents died in her childhood, and she went to live with her maternal uncle in the bush village of Ponanwiukok. She came back to Penguli, however, before she reached puberty, and then Towi asked to be betrothed to her. He talked to all her clan relatives, and they gave their consent. Then Nunda went to the hamlet of Panat and lived with Towi's mother, Toras. Shortly after this her first menses appeared, and there were the usual rites, followed by the marriage ritual.

159 837 Then her married and sex life with her husband began. Shortly after her marriage she began to go to the bush with her lovers. About once a month was the average. I could not find out the exact frequency of her relationship with her husband, but it was evidently according to desire. Two of her children, she told me, were the children of two lovers, and she knew this because of the resemblance between them and the children. Towi knew it also, but was not cross. She added that he liked the *tsera* which he had received from all her lovers. He later took another wife, known as wife number two. She died some time ago and had no children.

159 888 Nunda never ate either the sterility or abortive leaves, and has had four children, only one of whom is now living. To-day she and her husband live in Panat (her husband's hamlet), where her daughter, who is married and has two children, also lives. Towi is too old to clear ground for a garden, and so they do not have one. But Nunda can still plant taro, although not quite so vigorously as the younger women. She assists her own daughter, Kokala, and her husband's brother's daughter, Pulong (of her clan), in their gardens, and these two women and their husbands look after the old couple. Should anything happen to Kokala and Pulong, their children would look after Nunda and Towi.

[1] Why, I was unable to find out.

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could not be observed, because he was already dead. But when alive the husband or wife plays the part of a chief mourner, and is the loudest and most constant of all in his wailing. But the mate never takes any responsibility for the rites. A clan relative—a son (if the dead person is a woman), a maternal uncle, a sister's son, etc.—is the one who acts as the executive, and who, with the assistance of the other members of his clan, finances the rites. But the mate obeys the food and sex taboos along with the clan relatives. It is only in the accepting of responsibility that he is relegated to the background.

The rites for Maling were more elaborate than they are for a younger person. For the number of people, the size of the feast, and in general the elaborateness of the rites, are correlated to the prestige of the dead person. And in Lesu it is only an old person who can attain prestige. No matter how strong a personality, how much intelligence, skill, or wealth a man may have, he cannot attain the heights of prestige or become a real leader until he reaches old age. The mortuary rites are graduated nicely to fit the degree of prestige. For instance, if an infant is born dead, there are no rites at all, and the body is buried immediately without feast or wailing. A young child's funeral takes place on the day of death, and is attended only by people of the neighbouring hamlets. The funeral of a middle-aged person is held the day after death, and is attended by all the village and by his clan relatives from other villages. It is only when a very old person dies that the rites become an inter-village affair, and that relatives come from far-distant settlements. Then it is that the body is held for several days, while elaborate dances are performed and a large quantity of food is collected. Thus the social position of the dead person is shown at his death, and the rites become a kind of climax, big or small as the case may be, for his life.

The rites also contribute to the prestige of the living.

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and is divided into hamlets. The village of Lesu, where the writer lived, has 222 inhabitants living in fifteen hamlets. Each hamlet has its own cemetery and every native wants to be buried in the cemetery of the hamlet in which he was born.

Only the death of a very old person is considered normal. When a native who is not old dies (*i.e.*, one still able to work), his death is usually attributed to black magic. The rites are similar for all deaths, but at the death of an old person they are the most elaborate. The number of people at a funeral, the size of the feast, the elaborateness of the rites, are all graduated nicely to the age of the dead person.[2] If an infant is born dead there are no rites at all. It is buried immediately without feast or wailing. The funeral of a child takes place on the day of the death and is attended only by the people of the neighbouring hamlets. The funeral of a mature person, but not a very old one, will be held the day after death and will be a village affair, with some members of neighbouring villages there. The funeral of a very old person is a large inter-village affair, many people coming from quite distant settlements, and the body will be kept for two or three days before burial. The pattern at death is the same as it is during life. It is the old men and women who are the most important people and who are the leaders of the community.

While alive each person has a double called a *gas* which lives on the ground belonging to his totemic clan.[3] This *gas* is not seen by its living double, although there are rare occasions mentioned in folk tales when a man has met his *gas*. When a person dies his *gas* dies too. At the time of death there issues from the dying man, with his last breath, his *tinuato* or ghost, which has no connection with the *gas*. The *tinuato* dwells in the body while the native is alive and comes out only at his death, while the *gas* always dwells outside on the clan land and dies when the person dies. The *tinuato* or ghost continues to live, but its place of existence and manner of living are very vague. It belongs to the realm of the supernatural, about which no questions are asked. For a month or so after death

[2] Cf. Camilla H. Wedgwood, Death and Social Status in Melanesia, *J.R.A.I.*, Vol. LVII.

[3] *Vide* the writer's Report on Research in New Ireland, *Oceania*, I, 1931, 357.

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a son or daughter, a nephew or uncle, on the mother's side, or a mother. The consort during this period is spending all his time wailing, and not taking any part in the actual preparations.

During this interval between death and burial there is a fairly large group of people assembled at the hamlet where the death occurred. All the clan relatives and their consorts—the extended family—and sometimes a few others are there. At night the sexes sleep separately. All the women sleep in one house and all the men in another, or perhaps the men sleep out of doors in a compound in front of a house. There is abstention from all sexual relations.

If the funeral is that of a very old person and the rites are being carried out in full detail dancing is part of the ceremonial. At the funeral of an old and important woman, Maling (her sister's son was a chief), there was dancing on the two nights which elapsed between the time of death and the burial. Maling died early in the day and that night all the women of the village and the neighbouring villages danced. The next night the men of the village and of neighbouring villages danced. On the following morning the corpse was buried. Each night dancing went on continuously until sunrise. Different groups danced, so that no one person danced all night long. The whole community (the village and neighbouring ones) was present as an audience. If the energy of the dancers appeared to flag, the daughter of the dead woman exhorted them to continue with promises of the payment which would later be made to them. The dances were the traditional ones used on all ritual occasions, and participants were members of the community, regardless of their kinship to the dead person. Dancing is a part of the rites only when the dead person is very old.

The actual burial, however, does not vary very much according to the age of the dead person. Some time in the interval preceding burial the corpse is put in its coffin, usually an old canoe with the pointed ends removed. Members of the opposite moiety carry the corpse from the house in which it has been resting into the cemetery. They are decorated with leaves and white lime is used as a facial adornment. These pall-bearers advance in a square formation, singing, lift up the corpse, circle around the compound two or three times with it and finally carry it into the cemetery. At the same